



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

is wholly voluntary, both the mediation and the commissions of inquiry are fixed and binding. But an examination of the text of the clauses dealing with these subjects shows that exactly the opposite is true. The whole document is of a piece and the voluntary principle controls it throughout. The commissions of inquiry are simply declared to be "advisable." When constituted they are to be constituted by special convention between the parties in dispute, or, failing that, according to a general plan which is laid down. The United States, if the Senate ratifies the Convention, need never have, unless it wishes to, a commission of this sort between itself and any other nation either European or American.

The same is true of the mediation section. While under this the signatory powers agree in case of grave dispute to have recourse to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly powers, "so far as circumstances permit," it will always remain optional with any power whether its circumstances do permit it thus to proceed. If, under the provision that neutral powers may offer their good offices, any European powers should offer their mediation to the United States in case of a controversy with a European state, it would be in the power of the United States at any instant to declare that the circumstances did not permit, or that the basis of agreement proposed was not acceptable. The mediating powers would then be bound by the Convention (Article 5) to stop, as it is provided that the rôle of mediator shall cease at that instant, and that the good offices or mediation shall have "no obligatory force."

We have wondered, on reading Mr. Johnston's article a second time, whether the whole production was not intended to be a huge piece of sarcasm. If not, then his intense chauvinistic dislike of international fellowship and his determination that the United States shall go her way among the nations according to her own arbitrary will, setting up her own standards of judgment and making war on whom she pleases, without any friendly consultation or coöperation with other powers, have led him recklessly to make a special plea against the Hague Convention, for which not the shadow of a ground is found in the document itself. Mr. Johnston cannot find words strong enough to express his unutterable contempt for the "Harpy powers" of Europe. The United States is so supremely and immaculately good that she must keep her skirts clear of them all,—absolutely all except England, whom earlier in his article he also put among the "Harpy powers," and whose first delegate at The Hague he ranked as a silly and adroit old sorcerer, mixing "poisonous" political drugs with which to conjure away our liberties. So intent is he on his hunt for destructive arguments that he insults not only all Europe, but also the intelligence and honesty of our own delegates at The Hague, and in fact of the government and the whole nation.

If we had any fears that the Senate would not ratify the Hague Convention, we should feel tempted to ask the *North American Review* for the privilege of reprinting the Johnston article for special circulation among Senators. Nothing could be found more fitting to convince them that the Arbitration Convention is an able, wise and safe arrangement, destined to bring great honor to the United States and great and lasting blessings to the whole world.

The Transvaal War.

The storm has at last burst which is to desolate South Africa. It became clear months ago, from the disposition manifested on both sides, that all efforts to secure a pacific solution were practically sure to end in failure. England, or rather the official managers of the English end of the controversy, pressed unreasonable demands which it was certain the Boers would not accept. On the other side, though concession after concession had been made and arbitration urged, there was an invincible determination not to yield to these imperialistic demands, at least the most exacting of them.

The ultimatum of the South African Republic, though it came unexpectedly, was the logical outcome of the situation. The independent spirit of the Boers, knowing as they did the intention of it all, could not brook England's great war preparation and the hurrying of troops to the border. Hostilities began almost immediately after the time of the ultimatum expired. The Orange Free State immediately threw in its lot with its sister republic, and the two little states at once turned their arms against one of the great powers of the world. We are sorry the Transvaal government did not refrain from taking this hazardous and possibly ruinous step. We are much more deeply pained that Great Britain has proceeded in such a high-handed way that it is impossible not to consider her the chief guilty cause of the crime against civilization which this war must be regarded. But it is too late to indulge in these reflections.

The fighting so far, pushed by the Boers with terrible earnestness, has been such as to indicate that the struggle will be a fierce, deadly one. Neither side will spare life or money. For months to come South Africa is to hear of nothing but war and rumors of war, of battles and sieges, of victories and retreats. Britons and Boers alike, laying aside their humanity, are to long for nothing but each other's blood, are to rush savagely upon each other like senseless beasts, shooting and shelling and stabbing each other to death. The hills and valleys, which God made for peace and prosperity, are to ring with the roar of cannon and the rattle of musketry, with the fierce battle yell and the delirious shouts of vic-

tory, with the bitter blasphemies of despair and the groans of the wounded and dying. All business suspended, railroads torn up, cities bombarded, houses wrecked and burned, women and children ruthlessly driven from home, the country everywhere desolated! The flower of the Dutch population will in all probability be swept away. The British forces, whatever the outcome of the struggle may be, will be fearfully cut to pieces, and more hearts than the Queen's will bleed at the cruel losses. New burdens of taxation will be laid on the people. Deadly race hatred will be engendered which no one now living will see pass away. It is a spectacle to drive one into the darkest caverns of pessimism and despair! These two nations are professedly Christian, reading the same Bible, praying to the same God, pretending to love and follow the same Saviour! And here they are madly exterminating one another, as if they had taken their inspiration from the altar of hell!

What the result will be it is useless to forecast. Appeal has been made to brute force and cunning, and the combatants will have to abide by the results. The war will not decide who is right, but only who under the circumstances is strongest, most enduring, most skilful and cunning in the use of deceit and violence. Rather, the war has already decided that both are wrong, and the memory of the great sin which they are committing will never be effaced from human history. It is easy to argue that the victory of either side will prove a gain to civilization. But it is certain that the sin of both sides in going to war has not only inflicted for the present a ghastly wound upon civilization, but will leave great and serious obstacles in its way for generations to come. Civilization will revive in spite of the war, and South Africa will some day grow green again; but the time and treasure and lives wasted can never be recalled.

The friends of peace will learn from this conflict that they must push their work wider and deeper into the hearts and consciences of the people. This is the only abiding remedy for war. The thoughts and dispositions of individuals and of peoples toward one another must be so changed that national leaders like those which have brought on this senseless conflict will become an impossibility. "If nations choose to play at war, they will always find their governments willing to lead the game." Ruskin means by this that the hearts of peoples must be so changed that there will be no game and no leaders.

Editorial Notes.

Judge Day's
Letter.

Judge Day's effort, in his letter to Congressman Watson of Columbus, O., to show that the United States got its assumed title to the Philippines not by conquest, but by purchase, is not very successful. The prime thing pro-

posed by the Peace Commission at Paris to the Spanish commissioners was not the purchase of the islands for the sum of \$20,000,000, or any other sum. The basis of the transaction was the insistence by Judge Day and his associates that Spain should cede the islands to the United States. No one knows this better than Mr. Day. The Spanish Commission was allowed no choice in the matter. They protested with brokenness of spirit, but Judge Day held the power of the United States over their heads, and rather than go on with the war they agreed to the cession and to the acceptance of the \$20,000,000 so graciously offered as a poultice to their wound. This may not be conquest by the sword through actual seizing of the territory, but it is conquest in the essential meaning of the term. To attempt to cover up the real thing by the pretence that the title was transferred through an open and willing sale, both parties acting freely, is worse than a quibble. But it is, at any rate, encouraging to find one of the chief actors in the drama openly confessing that conquest of territory is wrong and un-American, as multitudes of Americans, following Judge Day's act at Paris, have said that it is not. We may hope that in time he will also have the frankness to confess that the purchase of sovereignty over an unwilling people, which he now holds to be a virtuous thing, because sanctioned by international law, is equally iniquitous and contrary to every principle of our national life. To seize a man in the wilds of Africa or anywhere else and make him your slave is no greater crime than to buy a man of your neighbor who already holds him in enforced servitude.

At the Massachusetts Republican State Convention, held on October 6, the following plank touching the war with Spain and that now in progress in the Philippines was adopted:

"Under the treaty with Spain, the law of nations put upon the United States the responsibility for the peace and security of life and property, the well being and the future government of the Philippine islands; accepting this responsibility, it is our profound trust that the present hostilities can be brought to an early termination, and that Congress, guided by a wise and patriotic administration, will establish and maintain in those islands, hitherto the home of tyrants, a government as free, as liberal, and as progressive as our own, in accordance with the sacred principles of liberty and self-government upon which the American republic so securely rests."

What is here said about the Philippine situation is entirely unworthy of Massachusetts Republicanism. Nothing could surpass it in straddling ingenuity. "As free, as liberal and as progressive as our own!" If that means anything, it means that the government to be set